

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8717

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 07256

EXDIS

FOR GREENWALD (EB), LORD (S/P) AND LEWIS (IO) FROM
ROBINSON

DEPARTMENT PASS TO HORMATS (NSC)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EGEN, ENRG, UNCTAD

SUBJECT: UNCTAD IV AND CIEC

1. AS I PROMISED IN MY MEMO TO GREENWALD AND LORD
BEFORE TAKING OFF FOR EUROPE, I AM CABLING MY
REACTIONS TO THE GREENWALD MEMO ON UNCTAD IV, THE
GREENWALD-LORD MEMO ON THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE, AND
THE LEWIS MEMO AS WELL. I FOUND THESE PAPERS VERY
HELPFUL IN CLARIFYING MY THINKING. BASED ON THE INPUTS
THESE MEMOS PROVIDED, LET ME OFFER SOME OBSERVATIONS.

2. FIRST, WE NEED TO WORK AS CONSTRUCTIVELY AS POSSIBLE
TO ACHIEVE A RECORD OF SUCCESS IN ALL FOUR COMMISSIONS
OF THE CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION.
WE CANNOT PRESS FOR SIGNIFICANT RESULTS ONLY IN ENERGY.
THE PREPARATORY CONFERENCE DID NOT ACHIEVE ITS GOALS IN
APRIL LAST YEAR PRECISELY BECAUSE WE TOOK THE ATTITUDE
THAT ONLY THE ENERGY TALKS WERE TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY.
WE CANNOT REALISTICALLY GO BACK TO OUR ORIGINAL,
UNTENABLE POSITION.

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3. SECOND, WE INITIATED THE CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL

ECONOMIC COOPERATION BASED ON THE PREMISE THAT WE WERE NOT RESPONDING TO PRESSURES FROM OTHERS BUT THAT WE WERE COMMITTED TO A SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS THAT PROMISED MUTUAL BENEFIT TO BOTH INDUSTRIALIZED AND DEVELOPING NATIONS. WE SAW THE CIEC NOT AS SOMETHING TO TOLERATE, TO WAIT-OUT, OR TO HOPE THAT IT WOULD GO AWAY BUT AS A POSITIVE OPPORTUNITY TO DO SOMETHING WORTHWHILE. WE WORKED HARD TO LAUNCH THE CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION. WE ARE COMMITTED TO ITS SUCCESS AND TO A POSITIVE ATTITUDE PROVIDED THAT OTHER NATIONS REPRESENTED AT CIEC TAKE A POSITIVE ATTITUDE.

4. THIRD, CIEC PROVIDES AN OPPORTUNITY TO ACHIEVE MORE CONSTRUCTIVE NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONSHIPS AND SOME THINGS NOT OFFERED BY THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, UNCTAD IV AND OTHER BROADER, MORE POLITICIZED FORA, SPECIFICALLY:

- (A) -- LIMITED MEMBERSHIP BODIES, AND
- (B) -- CONSENSUS RATHER THAN MAJORITY VOTING
- (C) -- MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION WERE SELECTED ON THE BASIS OF THEIR INTEREST IN AND ABILITY TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE SUBJECTS BEING DISCUSSED.

5. FOURTH, WE SHOULD AIM FOR POSITIVE RESULTS IN BOTH UNCTAD IV AND CIEC. IN FACT, THE UNCTAD MEETING SHOULD BE VIEWED AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO GIVE IMPETUS TO THE WORK IN CIEC. THIS COULD BE DONE, FOR EXAMPLE, BY PROPOSING IN THE FINAL UNCTAD RESOLUTION THAT A NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT ISSUES RAISED, BUT NOT RESOLVED, IN NAIROBI SHOULD BE REFERRED TO THE CIEC DISCUSSIONS IN PARIS.

6. FIFTH, THE NEXT TWO CIEC MEETINGS ARE CRUCIAL. WE NEED TO SHOW LIMITED BUT UNDENIABLE PROGRESS IN THESE MEETINGS IF UNCTAD IV IS NOT TO BE A DISASTER. THIS MIGHT BE DONE, FOR EXAMPLE, BY UNVEILING IN A TENTATIVE FASHION SOME OF OUR INITIATIVES AND IDEAS FOR UNCTAD IV, PARTICULARLY IN THE RAW MATERIALS AREA.

7. FINALLY, WHILE WE DO NOT NEED TO MAKE A DECISION NOW
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ON THE LONGER-RUN CONTINUATION OF THE CIEC COMMISSIONS, WE SHOULD BEGIN WITH A POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD ALL THE COMMISSIONS. THUS OPTION 3 OF THE LORD-GREENWALD PAPER SHOULD NOT, REPEAT NOT, BE OUR WORKING HYPOTHESIS. (SOMETHING MORE LIKE OPTION 1 BUT NOT CAST IN SUCH EXTREME TERMS AS TO BE CLEARLY UNTENABLE.)

8. IN JUNE, WE CAN REVIEW WHAT OUR WORKING HYPOTHESIS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 07256

EXDIS

SHOULD BE REGARDING A MORE PERMANENT BASIS FOR CIEC,
BUT BEFORE THAT JUDGMENT IS MADE, WE NEED TO ASK AND
PROVIDE SOME ANSWERS TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

9. FIRST, HOW CAN WE IMPLEMENT OUR IDEA THAT CIEC
SHOULD BE AN ENERGIZING CENTER? WHAT IS TO BE THE ROLE
OF THE OFFICIAL-LEVEL MEETING IN PERFORMING THIS
FUNCTION? THE INDIVIDUAL COMMISSION MEETINGS? THE
MINISTERIAL MEETING? SHOULD WE MAKE SOME INITIATIVES AT
THE OFFICIAL-LEVEL MEETING AND, IF SO, WHAT SHOULD THEY
BE? SHOULD THE OFFICIAL-LEVEL MEETING, COMMISSION
MEETINGS, AND MINISTERIAL MEETINGS ISSUE REPORTS ON
AREAS OF AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT OR SHOULD THEY AIM
AT POSITIVE RESOLUTIONS ACCEPTED BY CONSENSUS? SHOULD
THE MINISTERIAL RESOLUTION OR REPORT MERELY POINT TO
RESOLUTIONS OR REPORTS COMING OUT OF PREVIOUS MEETINGS
AS A RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT OR SHOULD THE MINISTER
CONSIDER AND AGREE ON A PACKAGE OF PROPOSALS HELD IN
ABEYANCE UNTIL THE MINISTERIAL? OR SHOULD WE AIM AT A
COMBINATION OF THESE TWO APPROACHES?

10. SECOND, WHAT ARE THE POSSIBILITIES BEYOND THE CIEC
MINISTERIAL? WHAT SHOULD BE THE RELATIONSHIP OF CIEC TO
THE UN SYSTEM? SHOULD WE CONSIDER A SPECIAL SESSION OF
UNCTAD IV OR THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO CONSIDER CIEC
RESULTS UNDER THE REASONABLE PROPOSITION THAT DISCUSSIONS
IN A RESTRICTED GROUP PERIODICALLY OUGHT TO BE COMMUNI-

CATED TO A BROADER GROUP OF NATIONS? SHOULD WE CONSIDER
A CONTINUATION OF THE CIEC COMMISSIONS WITH ROTATING
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MEMBERS, INCLUDING SOME EASTERN EUROPEAN NATIONS, AS
WELL AS PERMANENT MEMBERS?

11. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO WORK WITH BOB HORMATS AT THE
NSC TO PREPARE A STRATEGY PAPER THAT ADDRESSES THE
QUESTIONS IN PARAGRAPHS 9 AND 10 ABOVE AND PROVIDES
OPTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ME. I THINK WE SHOULD
HAVE A PRELIMINARY VERSION OF SUCH A PAPER PRIOR TO THE
TIME OUR DELEGATION LEAVES FOR THE UNCTAD IV MEETINGS IN
NAIROBI SO WE PLAY THE UNCTAD IV RESOLUTION IN A WAY THAT
CAN KEEP OUR OPTIONS OPEN.
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